

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 286903

EXDIS DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS FOR DR BRZEZINSKI

FOL TEL SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO DAR ES SALAAM LONDON
MAPUTO FROM LUSAKA DTD 01 DEC 1977 QTE

N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 3643

EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV RH US UK MZ

SUBJ: RHODESIA: NEXT STEPS

REF: MAPUTO 1440

1. MAPUTO TEL RAISES TWO IMPORTANT POINTS. ON THE
PROCEDURAL ONE OF OFFERS TO MEET MACHEL, IT MIGHT BE WORTH
SETTING DOWN ON THE RECORD
OUR EFFORTS TO SEE MACHEL IN EARLY
NOVEMBER, SINCE MUCH OF IT WAS BY TELEPHONE. JOHNNY CARSON
WAS HANDLING THE MAPUTO END.

2. AT REQUEST PREM CHAND ON OCTOBER 29, I ASKED DAR AND MAPUTO
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TO REQUEST MEETINGS FOR HIM WITH RESPECTIVE PRESIDENTS. WE WERE
INFORMED BY MAPUTO THAT MACHEL WAS OUT OF TOWN THAT WEEKEND
BUT COULD SEE CHAND THE FOLLOWING WEEK. A FEW DAYS LATER WE
ASKED FROM DAR WHETHER MACHEL COULD SEE CHAND ON MONDAY,
OCTOBER 31. THE RESPONSE WAS THAT MACHEL WAS OUT OF TOWN FOR
THREE MORE DAYS AND COULD PROBABLY SEE CHAND/CARVER AT THE
END OF THE WEEK. WE FLEW ON TO SALISBURY AND AGAIN REQUESTED

A MEETING WITH MACHEL FOR CHAND AND CARVER EITHER TRAVELING FROM SALISBURY ON FRIDAY OR FROM GABORONE ON MONDAY. THIS TIME WE WERE INFORMED HE WOULD REMAIN OUT OF TOWN UNTIL MID-NOVEMBER. IN SUM, THERE WERE AT LEAST FOUR SEPARATE OCCASIONS WHEN WE REQUESTED AND WERE TURNED DOWN ON INTERVIEWS WITH MACHEL. OF COURSE THE DEPARTMENT IS AWARE THAT OWEN'S LETTER OF NOVEMBER 16 TO MACHEL AGAIN OFFERED TO HAVE CARVER COME TO MAPUTO TO SEE HIM. TO MY KNOWLEDGE, THIS OFFER REMAINS WITHOUT RESPONSE. THOUGH OUR RECORD OF ATTEMPTING TO CONSULT WITH MACHEL SHOULD BE CLEAR, IT MAY BE THAT HE IS UNAWARE OF THESE VARIOUS ATTEMPTS TO CONSULT WITH HIM.

3. BILL'S POINT ON CONSULTING WITH MACHEL ON ORGANIZATION OF THE FUTURE ZNA IS A DIFFICULT AND IMPORTANT ONE. THE PLAIN FACT IS THAT THERE IS NO WAY OF SATISFYING BOTH SIDES ON THIS ISSUE. NYERERE'S ORIGINAL IDEA AND WHAT MAY STILL BE MACHEL'S THOUGHT IS THAT THE ZNA CONSIST OF LIBERATION FORCES WITH A FEW INDIVIDUALS FROM THE RHODESIAN DEFENSE FORCES INTERSPERSED WITHIN IT. THIS WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE TO SMITH, MUZOREWA, SITHOLE AND PROBABLY NKOMO. ALL OF THESE WILL REQUIRE A SUBSTANTIAL FORCE OF THE RDF TO REMAIN IN EXISTENCE IN ORDER TO SUPPORT ANY INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE IN WHICH THEY PARTICIPATE OR WHICH THEY CAN ACCEPT. WE HAVE AGREED ON THE FORMULA "BASED ON THE LIBERATION FORCES". IN ATTEMPTING TO DESIGN A VIABLE, MODERN MILITARY FORCE, LORD CARVER SUGGESTS THAT THIS BE TRANSLATED INTO A MAJORITY OF THE REGULAR FORCES

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FROM THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS STRUCTURED INTO UNITS SIMILAR TO THE RDF. THE RESERVE FORCES (UNARMED BUT PERHAPS UNIFORMED) WOULD BE OVERWHELMINGLY LIBERATION FORCES. THE QUESTION WHICH SEEMS TO ME TO PRESENT ITSELF IS WHAT IS THE BEST WAY TO OBTAIN FRONTLINE ACCEPTANCE OF THIS KIND OF STRUCTURE WHICH, I BELIEVE, IS THE MINIMUM WHICH SMITH, MUZOREWA, SITHOLE AND NKOMO WOULD ACCEPT (THOUGH NKOMO WILL NOT ADMIT THIS PUBLICLY). IT IS BETTER TO CONSULT WITH MACHEL (AND NYERERE, WHO MAY NOW BE MORE AMENABLE) ABOUT THIS AND RUN THE RISK OF THEIR RAISING SERIOUS OBJECTIONS WHICH WE WOULD HAVE TO IGNORE, OR SIMPLY INCLUDE IT IN THE OVERALL ELABORATION IN MKII ON THE TAKE-IT-OR-LEAVE-IT BASIS? AT LEAST WE HAVE TO BE CLEAR IN OUR OWN MINDS THAT THIS IS AS FAR AS WE CAN GO IF WE ARE TO HAVE ANY HOPE OF STOPPING AN INTERNAL OPTION, OBTAINING SOUTH AFRICAN SUPPORT AND RHODESIAN ACCEPTANCE OF OUR PLAN. LOW UNQTE VANCE

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